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ARGUMENTS

P R O and C O N,

And: IN SEVERAL *Discourses*

SPEECHES

For and Against an

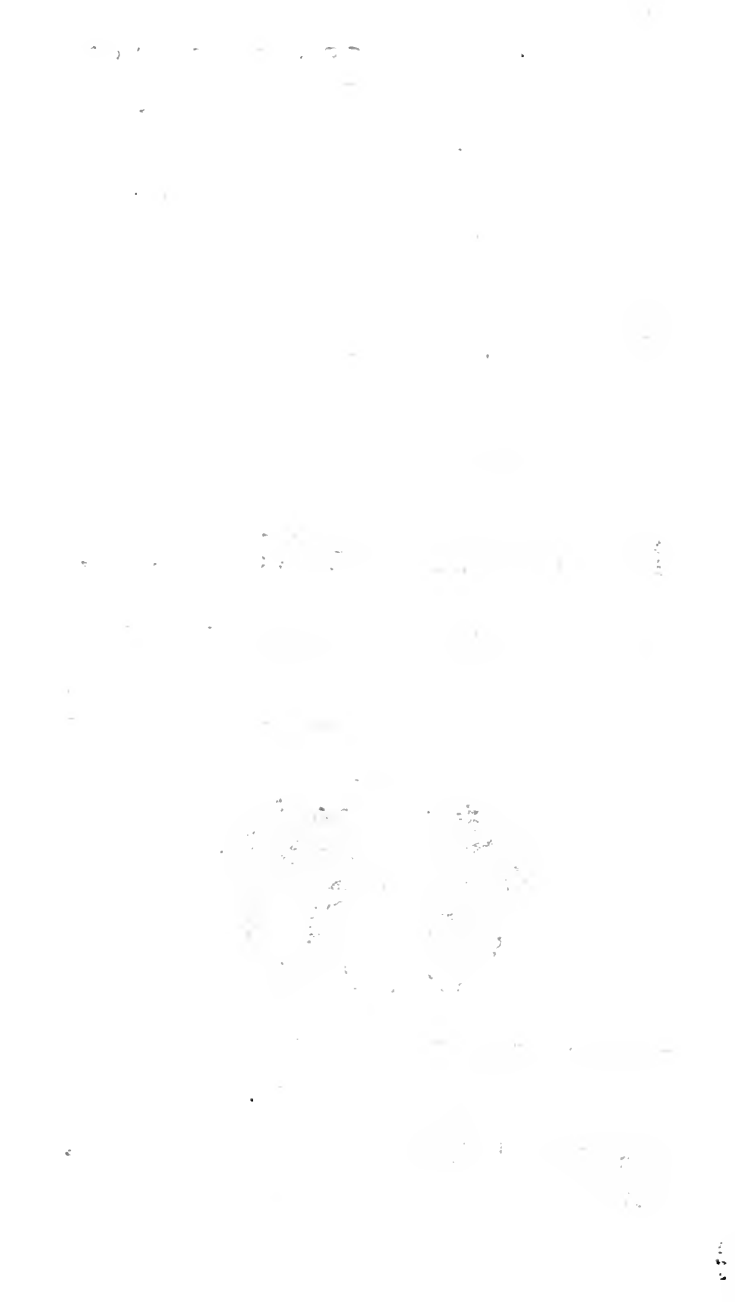
IMPEACHMENT.

Proveniebant Oratores novi, Stulti, Adolescentuli.
Nævius in Cicerone.



L O N D O N :

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S P E E C H I.

For the IMPEACHMENT.

A M not insensible, my L——s, that what I am going to offer, will not be so agreeable to some Gentlemen, who have endeavour'd with their Clamours, to hinder or intimidate the true Lovers of their

Country, the Laws, our Liberty, and our Religion, as I could wish all Things that contribute to the Safety of them, were to every Member that has the Honour to sit here. But, my L——s, I never intend to make the Threats, Murmurs, or Clamours of the Enemies of my Country, the Guide and Measure of my Actions; and I shall never fear to propose any Thing for the Safety, Honour, Liberty, or Religion of my dear Country, tho' by so doing, I should disoblige the most intimate of my Acquaintance; for Friend I shall never call any one, with whom I might have the Misfortune of an Intimacy, who could either by want of Understanding, or Honesty, or for any private Aim, or View, engage in Measures disadvantageous to any of those sacred Considerations I have mention'd.

I think, my L——s, it is pretty visible to all *Europe*, that some Men, who have had the Advantage of the Ear of our late Sovereign LADY, of

pious Memory, have shamefully turn'd to the Ruin of our dear Country, in its Trade, its Power, its Honour, Justice, and Safety.

They have had the Assurance to complain of being prejudg'd, tho', when they had Power, they could vote a noble Lord an Enemy to his Country, for a Treaty which secur'd to us the inestimable Blessing of his Majesty's Reign, and yet would never do him the Justice to bring him to a Tryal, and hear what he had to offer in his own Defence. The same Set of Men impeach'd four other noble Lords for the *Partition-Treaty*, but would never make good their Charge according to the Parliamentary Methods. But this I shall observe, that if the giving so small a Part, and that of little Consideration, to the House of *Bourbon*, were a Crime worthy of Impeachment, certainly the surrendering the *Spanish* Monarchy, in its most valuable Part, all *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*, to that House, must be proportionably more criminal, and by consequence as much more worthy of Consideration.

If the Honour of your Country be prejudic'd, if you are look'd on by *Europe* as League-Breakers, and Men negligent of the solemn Engagements of Alliances, it is your Business to do yourselves and the Nation Justice, by calling those Men to an Account who have brought this Infamy upon you. If you would give Credit to the Nation, to make fresh Alliances with foreign Princes, to secure your common Liberties, and very Existence, you must punish those who have endeavour'd to make the World believe, that no Alliances with us can be secure, or depended upon.

The Eyes of all *Europe* are upon you ; I am not urging you to condemn any Man unheard ; bring those to their Tryals, who have had a Hand in these Transactions, and then condemn or acquit them.

Your

Your Country, your Laws, your Liberties, your Religion, are Objects worthy the Care of Patriots; and these all commend themselves to you on this great Emergence.

S P E E C H II.

Against the IMPEACHMENT.



Y L——s, I have been accus'd of being always too much on the Reserve, as never to speak my Mind in plain, direct, and intelligible Terms: I hope I have lately in Print remov'd that Obloquy, by an open Sincerity,

which may, perhaps, be thought less prudent, than my usual Caution has allow'd. I shall, however, here pursue the very same manner, and lay down my Sentiments with a Frankness, that nothing but a good Conscience could afford.

I must therefore tell you, my L——s, that I am very much surpriz'd at that Noble L——s, Speech, who spoke last. What a Noise has he made of his *Country*, the *publick Good*, *Liberty*, *Laws*, and the like! and with an Air uncommon, urges my Impeachment for betraying my Country, for destroying the publick Faith, and a great many of these good Morrows. My L——s, this *Cant* might do well enough among the *Vulgar* without Doors, and might spirit a Mob up, to put that Power in some of your Hands, which was once in mine: But to make such a Clamour of it within these Walls, amazes me more than any publick Pretence whatever, tho' never so ill grounded. My L——s, I hope you will be

more just to your selves, and to me, than to let my Life be thrown up to that Cry, in which there is no real Substance.

Is there any Man among you, whose real Aim is not *Power, Wealth, Dignity*? Is there any Man among you, who makes the *publick Good*, the *Safety, Honour, and Glory* of his Country, and his *Prince*, the Standard of his Actions, and the Measure of his Conduct? Is there any Man among you, who does not in all he does, first consider how to establish his *own Power*, his *own Family*, his *own Honour*, and next, (or perhaps not at all) how to make these join in with the real, at least apparent Good of his Country? If the publick Good happen to be improv'd by your Administration, that is only owing to a lucky Chance, to a fortunate Conjunction of Affairs, and not to your Merit, your real, and disinterested Zeal, your *Roman Love* for your Country, or the very Prince that made you.

Give me Leave, my L——s, to prove my Assertion by undeniable Fact, and then I shall own so much of my Charge, that the Aim of my Administration, was, to confirm my *Power*, increase my *Wealth*, my *Dignity*, and establish my *Family*: Nor shall I, however, omit the Proof of the Justice and Wisdom of the Measures I have taken; and shew, that wherever I have err'd, the *Whigs* have been the sole Cause of it.

Tho' I might give various Instances of the Measures taken by the *Whigs*, that were only calculated for the Support of their present *Power*, or to their gaining a *future*, yet I shall restrain my self to one, because the Ground of their present Power, is built on a Merit directly contrary to what is justly to be granted to be their Desert. They are represented as the *only* Objects of his

his Majesty's Favour, as being the *only, true* Friends to the HANOVER SUCCESSION. But my L——s, if I can shew these very Men making a *Property* of this SUCCESSION, nay, refusing to secure it, joining with the *Jacobites* against it's Security, and this only for Fear, out of a Jealousy that its entire Security being obtain'd, or even first made by the *Tories*, might lessen their Power, and render the Possession of their Dignities very dubious, I hope you will then allow, that I have gain'd my Point, and acquit me, when I shall shew, that all that I have done, during my whole Ministry, was directed to the same End, and conducted by the same Measures; and if I have in any thing gone counter to the *Good of our Country*, it has been their Faults, who render'd it impossible for me to be in Power, and a true Patriot at once.

I think it is pretty plain to common Sense, that nothing could have been a more *infallible Security* to the *Protestant Succession*, than the Presence of the *Protestant Heirs*; by which Means they could, without the least Hazard, have been ready to step into the Throne on a Demise. But when this was propos'd in a Parliamentary Way, who was it oppos'd it? Who quash'd it? Who voted *Prosecutions*, for the vindicating of this *infallible Security*? Why the *Whigs*; those very Gentlemen, who now accuse me of sacrificing all to the establishing my own Family, and my own Power. What was objected against this Invitation of the *Protestant Heir*? Only what *Lesley*, and the *Jacobites* themselves objected; that it was not *complaisant* to her Majesty; that it put her in mind of a Coffin, and the like. But my L——s, if the *Whigs* were actuated by that *publick Spirit*, the *Good of their Country*, and the like

like specious Pretences, of what Consequence was the momentaneous Disquiet of a Princess, who was the easiest in the World to be brought to like Measures, that were represented for the Good of her Country? But that this was in Reality only a Complement to their own Power, not to her Majesty's Quiet, is plain from the little Regard they had to it, in their Clamour for the Presence of the Duke of *Cambridge*, the present most Serene Prince of *W A L E S*, when her Majesty had been much more alarm'd with Fears that way, than before. The Truth of the Fact is, that on the first Occasion the *Whigs* were in *Power*; on the second, they were out of all manner of Posts.

This, I hope, will be sufficient to prove, that all of us of both Sides, let us put on what Vizor we please to the People, either our only or chief aim is at our *own Power, Wealth, and Dignity*; and therefore I hope you will hear me with Patience, when I shall shew, that I have pursu'd this End as faithfully as I could; and if I have taken Measures that you Gentlemen did not like, as contrary to yours, it was entirely your own Faults, since you would not trust me, when you could not lessen my Power; which oblig'd me to join with *Tory, Jacobite*, or any one; or to quit that Power which I ow'd to my own Industry and Understanding. When you will produce any one of the Party, who would quit his Power with his Prince when he could maintain it, then I will heartily submit to an *Impeachment, Attainder*, or even the *Scaffold*, without a Murmur. Give me Leave therefore, to give you a short and summary History of the whole Affair, from the Rise of my *Prime Ministry*, to my Loss of the *Staff*.

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My Design on my Advancement, was not to alter the Measures abroad, except in the rectifying some Things, and bringing our Allies to a more punctual Performance of their Stipulations, that the Burthen of the War might be more equally born. Nor was I resolv'd not to pursue the same Measures of Administration, and even with the same Persons, except a very few. But I displac'd all the *Whigs*, true; but their Clamours compell'd me to it. I dissolv'd the Parliament, true; but if I had not, they would have dissolv'd me, or what is all one, destroy'd my Power and Dignity. This was but *Self-Preservation*. But I made twelve Lords at once, to the Disgrace of the Order, merely to save my self. Confest, had I any other Way to escape? If not, why should I not make use of the only Means left, to secure me from the vigorous, nay, deadly Attacks of my Enemies. If it be any Reflection, I take it to be on those worthy Persons, who were so zealous in my Cause, as to prostitute their Reputations and Honour, to save a Friend in Danger. 'Tis said, there is no greater Love, than to die for a Friend; yet, I am perswaded, that to confess one's self a *Tool*, and to sacrifice the very Character of a Gentleman, for a Friend, is a Piece of more exalted Friendship, than to die for him. Such Friends, had they been but constant, had indeed been as valuable as necessary, to a Statesman who had such Difficulties to struggle with, and such Designs to carry on.

The Affair of the *Catalans* is the next Thing laid to my Charge, and that with the odious Suggestion of having abandon'd a *faithful* People, whom we had drawn into a terrible War, to the Ruin of their Country, leaving them without sufficient Care to preserve them from the Resentment

of the *Spanish* King, by not obliging that Prince to preserve their Lives, Liberties, Privileges, &c. on a Foot with those of his other Subjects. But, my L——s, upon a full Examination of this Affair, it was found, that we had fully and punctually discharg'd all Engagements to them; had obtain'd Safety, an Act of Oblivion; and a Grant of as great Privileges to them, as they enjoy'd when we first engag'd with them; that we left them in the Care of the Emperor, whose Subjects they chose to be, and whose Duty it was to have taken care of them, and to have made farther Conditions for them, if it had been reasonable; and who could not be said, not to have been as able to defend them, as they were afterwards to defend themselves. That, however, the Obstinacy of the *Catalans*, and their demanding such Privileges to be restor'd to them, as they had lost before we were any Way concern'd with them; which Privileges we never undertook to procure for them, nor could reasonably expect, has been the only true Cause of their Misfortunes.

Yet, my L——s, we made such pressing Instances, both at the *Spanish* and *French* Courts, for the Peace and Privileges of this unhappy People, that it was confess'd, that more could not have been done; and that the *Catalans* were so resolute, and insisted on such Grants, as no Sovereign could be suppos'd to stoop to.

Things appearing in this fair Light, on a full Examination into the Matter, it was confess'd, by some Men of Honour of the contrary Party, that they did not think that the Ministry had acted so far for the Interest of the *Catalans*, and that it was impossible to do more, than to continue the same pressing Instances with the King of *Spain* in their Favour.

The next Crime they lay to my Charge, is, my distributing Pensions among some of the *Highland Clans* in *Scotland*, which, by those first, who were either willing to conceal what they knew, or really knew no better, was suggested to be a Secret supporting of the *Jacobites*, Enemies to the Constitution, and were Favourers of the Pretender, and the like. But when these Things were examin'd into in the House of Peers, the People describ'd, the Nature of the Place, the Persons to whom, and the End for which this Money was paid; how small a Sum it was, how effectually it had answer'd the End; and above all, when it appear'd, that the like Sum for the like Ends, was distributed during the former Ministry; that by this Means, so many, and such powerful *Clans* were kept in their Duty, in the Interest of the Government, and prevented from taking the like, or greater Pensions, to enter into Engagements with *France*; it was acknowledg'd, that the Money was well employ'd.

The last Charge, and something a-kin to the former, is, my employing of profess'd *Jacobites*, and those the very Leaders of that Party in *Scotland*. I confess there was admitted into the Ministry, a Party, who being really *Jacobites* in their Principles, went on with the Ministry, in Hopes of finding an Opportunity out of the general Distractions, to produce something to the Advantage of the Party they adher'd to, and to promote the Interest of the Pretender. These were so far impos'd on, as to believe, that the altering the Succession, was entertain'd by the Managers with whom they acted. Nor was this, my L——, in my Opinion, an impolitick Step in me, if I took any Methods to nourish their Folly in that Notion, since it not only engag'd them

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heartily in the Measures of the *Ministry*, but effectually took them off from all their other *Jacobite* Projects, and from all their foreign Interests and Expectations; and turn'd their Hands and Eyes to a foolish Hope and Assurance, in which, had they had the least Foresight, they could not but see they were dropp'd in the Beginning, and must be effectually disappointed in the End. Nothing, indeed, could be more absurd, than this Phantom of the *Jacobites*, in believing me in their Interest; but by entertaining that Dream, they ham-string'd their Cause, and suffer'd themselves to be made the Instruments and Agents, to make that impossible, which they fancy'd they were bringing about. This Fancy made them be chosen Members, accept of Places, and pass such Acts as lost them with their Party in *Scotland*, and created such a Diffidence among them, that mutual Confidence was destroy'd, and so all their Aims to act against the Constitution and the Pretender, wholly reduc'd to nothing.

Thus far, my L——, I have gone in Justification of my self against those *imaginary* Crimes that are laid to my Charge by the Enemies of my Administration; and, I hope, I have sufficiently justify'd my self to Men of your Knowledge, Penetration, and Experience in the *Practice* of Mankind; against which, I flatter my self, you will not let mere *speculative* Notions prevail to my Prejudice; Notions, how beautiful and entertaining soever to the Fancy of Men unacquainted with *Business*, are yet fitter for such Amusements as the *Republick of Plato*, *Eutopia*, and the like *Systematical Politicks*, than for the Dregs of our Age. *Cicero* accus'd *Cato* of this Fault, that he spoke as if he liv'd in *Republica Platonis*, non in *Fæce ROMULI*; by that plainly insinuating, that he

he was a Man wholly unfit for the Affairs of *ROME*, which were, in his Time at least, on a much different Bottom.

But if I have, my L——, as I persuade myself I have, sufficiently remov'd all the Crimes thrown on me by my Accusers ; I question not, but that the after-Services I did the Nation, in opposing the violent Measures purpos'd by my Colleagues, will merit the Thanks of this House, and indeed, of all the People that are now enrag'd against me.

My L——, when I had victoriously carry'd my Point in all Things, and the displac'd Party had nothing to do, but to despair ; then was the real Conflict greater than ever ; for I had much more Difficulty to restrain the Rage of those who were for using this Advantage, and entirely crushing and oppressing those whom I had reduc'd, than I had either to reduce them, or preserve my self. My L——, I confess that I proceeded with a steady Resolution to maintain the Power and Authority I possess'd ; but that Victory being obtain'd, I had no farther Schemes of Opposition to pursue : No, my L——, it was never in my Design to crush and ruin the Persons I had this Struggle against, or to erect any Dominion over them, as *Britons* ; I had no *State-Tyranny* to set up, nor secret Designs to destroy the Constitution. This was the Cause of that mortal Breach between me and the rest, which is too well known to insist on.

But, my L——, the Hands the Obstinacy of the displac'd Party oblig'd me to make Use of, were not the most easy in the World to be govern'd ; one Part of which, I told you, were real *Jacobites*, and the Advantages I made of them in the Government, I have shewn you ; another Part were a Set of high, hot, out of Temper *Politicians*,

whose View was within themselves, and who acted upon Principles of absolute Government. These, my L——, found me a great deal of Trouble, for they push'd hard to introduce the tyrannical Part into my Administration. To oblige me to it by their Numbers, they separated from me, and set up the *October Club*, and pretended to act on their own Schemes, directly destructive of the displac'd Party, and, indeed, of the Constitution, and themselves too; I therefore, by secret and gentle Ways, separated this Faction, so that in six Months Time, there was not so much as the very Name of the *October Club* to be heard of in the World. Nay, I acted with that Address, that I lost not the Men, by destroying their Measures, but rang'd them under my own Banner, to carry on my Designs. This was a considerable Victory, my L——, for without it, I had my self been lost. My L——, after this, I endeavour'd to act between the Extreams of both Parties; and tho', by this Method, I was sensible I should please neither, yet I found that Method of Moderation could only support the Government, and that Time and Temper would carry the Point.

The hot Ones had long strove to bring me to their Measures, urging, that it was now high Time to strike home, and give the *Whigs* the *Coup de Grace*, that they might die at once, to turn out every *Whig*, or moderate Man in the Nation, to carry a *streight Reign*, and make the Government formidable, extend the *Prerogative*, and make the People know their Duty. They urg'd, that to rule by Law, was to put the Laws in Execution, to make the Law a Terror to the People, and not to the *Ministry*: That they had gain'd an entire Victory, the Benefit of which, was not to be lost for want of a vigorous following of the Blow;

Blow ; that now was the Time of effectually suppressing the *Whigs*, and that one home Blow would now knock them down for ever.

I, on the contrary, my L——, could not be brought to listen to their Fury ; nay, I preach'd up Moderation to them, as their Interest, and greatest Security ; for, as Temper and Moderation had given them all the Advantages they had gain'd ; so was it the only Way to secure themselves in those very Advantages ; whereas, the contrary Measures, as they were unpopular, and productive of Enemies and general Hatred, so would certainly be their Ruin. To this I added the Case of the *Succession*, in Terms as lively and pressing as I was able ; representing, that if the People should once have a general Notion, that they were not Friends to the *Hanover Succession*, they must be certainly split upon that Rock. But I could not beat it into their impenetrable Heads, that it was their Interest, as the *Ministry*, to be well with the Princes of that House, and and to let them see that they were entirely in their Interest, rendering themselves by that Means, the real Support of the *Succession*, and that the House of *Hanover* should succeed on the Foot of their Administration.

But, my L——, all I could say, had no manner of Effect upon them, except to fix their Resolutions against all moderate Measures, and every Thing that was opposite to their own. So that they now not only refus'd to concert with me the Measures of their future Conduct, but oppos'd me in all that I went about. Hence such a Breach ensu'd, that no Friends could make up ; they gave out to their Friends, that I was a *Whig* in my Heart ; that as I was bred a Fanatick, so I yet retain'd a warm Side to the *Dis-*
senters ;

senters; that I had hitherto only acted a Part with the *High-Church*, taking them in but as Tools, because I could not do without them, the *Whigs* refusing to trust, or put any Confidence in me.

They were satisfy'd, that these Clamours might vent their Passions, but could not disgrace me with her Majesty, unless they could have some Facts to charge me with, which would give her Majesty Doubts of my sincere Intention to the Church. But, my L——s, with my usual Address, I gell the Bill against *Private Academies*, &c. which was to be the Touch-stone of my Orthodoxy, and took from it all its persecuting Power, and then gave my Vote for it, and so disappointed all their Malice to me, in this Attempt.

Another Thing they made use of against me, was, my Zeal for the House of *Hanover*, in pressing the Payment of the *Hanover* Troops, which yet they hinder'd; and at the same Time possess'd the Queen, as if I had urg'd something injurious to her Honour, and that I had form'd an Interest in *Hanover*, at her Majesty's Expence. From this Time they gain'd Ground of me, but I have the Glory and Satisfaction to find, that the only Reason of it was, that they found me inviolably attach'd to the Interest of the *Protestant Succession*, and inseparably engag'd to that of the illustrious House of *Hanover*.

Here I desire your L——s, to consider the Streights I was in; the displac'd Party treated me very ill, as combin'd with the Pretender; and this Court-Faction was at the same Time undermining me, because I was heartily at work for, and engag'd in the Interest of the Elector of *Hanover*.

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'Twas now high Time for me to be in earnest to my self ; my own Preservation, a Thing I had not always listned much to, call'd upon me to draw out from a Party who were resolute to precipitate themselves, and the publick Affairs, into inexicable Labyrinths. Nor was this all, but as the Success of all their Designs, was to be their own Advantage, so was the Miscarriage to be all at my Expence ; for I being suppos'd to be at the Head of all Affairs, the Odium of every false Step was sure to be laid there ; the popular Hatred was sure to center there ; and I was like to be charg'd with the very Mistakes which I had openly and avowedly oppos'd. Nor was this come to a contemptible Height, for as the Conduct of these Men gave daily Uneasiness to the People, and the Charge of the Ministry being in the Interest of the Pretender, very popular, it was not without Ground, that I was in Danger of being sacrific'd to the Popularity, if any Attempt in Favour of the *Pretender* had really been made. For who can answer for the Rage of a Rabble, in the Heat of a Tumult, when they have any High Man pointed out to them as the Cause of all their Greivances ? It is true, I carry'd it with a steady, unconcern'd Composure, all this While ; but I could not be insensible of what the Folly of these Men tended to, and that the Resentment due to their Conduct, was pointed at me.

While this was the Case, the Faction (for these, above all the several Divisions, seem best to deserve that Name) went on to undermine and supplant me with my Royal Mistress, representing me as acting with such a Reserve in all the *publick Administrations*, that not the Queen herself much less the rest of the *Ministry*, were acquainted with any
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Thing till they saw it done, even not the *Privy-Council* it self, but only for Form sake ; and rather to approve and set their Hands to what was already done, than advise what was proper to do. That I govern'd all Things with such an absolute Authority, and carry'd it in so superior a manner, that it was become insupportable to the rest of the *Ministry*, who were only us'd as copying Clerks, to my Negotiations, and treated like Servants, not Ministers, who were entrusted by the Sovereign with the same Administration. The Sum of all this was, that as the Success of all my Management was owing to my being Master of my own Measures, and I saw great Reason not to put my Schemes into some Hands, who were mighty impatient to be trusted, since they regarded less the publick Good, than the gratifying the Vanity of being employ'd ; for which Reason, they both took Offence there, where they ought, had they been in the same Post, to have acted in the same manner.

How it came to pass that these Insinuations prevail'd so far with my Royal Mistress, or that I began to be made uneasy there, when all the World believ'd my Interest so firm, as not to be shaken with any Arts, or Contrivances whatsoever. What Treachery of Instruments this was brought about by ———, I shall in Regard of the sudden Loss of her Majesty, let remain in Silence.

It matter'd not how far Honour and Gratitude oblig'd them to have acted upon other Principles, when once their secret Intelligence inform'd 'em, that by this Means they had a fair View of bringing their Designs to pass, they soon broke through *those little Things* call'd *Obligations*, forgetting

getting who rais'd them, and by whose Conduct they had been supported, against all the Attempts of a *Party*, which, had they stood alone, would have crush'd them into Atoms of Disgrace and Contempt, even with one of their Fingers.

But the Hopes of getting the prime Administration into their Hands, and their eager Desires of having an Opportunity, by that Means, to put in Execution those wicked Designs, which had been long seated in their Imaginations, which they found, by many Demonstrations, I would never give way to, prevail'd with them to trample under Foot, the Honour and Duty of Servants to the Queen, and the Principles of Respect and Gratitude to that *Superior Genius* which had formerly serv'd and oblig'd them in the highest Degree; and what was worse, to quit all that Regard, which, as Ministers of State, they ow'd to the *publick Good*, and the Peace of their Country, which they well enough knew was center'd in that one capital Article of the *Constitution*, viz. the *Protestant Succession*.

It can never be sufficiently lamented, how far the Honour, Dignity, and Reputation of the Queen, became a Sacrifice in the Hands of these Men; how far they abandon'd the Regard, which in Duty they ow'd to their Sovereign's *Veracity*; how far they expos'd the Sincerity which every one that knew intimately the Queen's Conduct, knew her Majesty acted with in every Thing she did. How they expos'd it, I say, to common Censure; and how the Enemies of the Government took Occasion, from their Conduct, to suggest, that her Majesty was enter'd with them into Measures injurious to the *Protestant Succession*; at least it was concluded, that if the

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Queen was not really in the Design of these Men, and was not consenting to Measures fatal to the Protestant Succession, it was not their Faults, nor, for Want of frequent Attempts on their Side, to bring it to pass: And tho' they were not yet arriv'd to that Height, as to own their Design to her Majesty, yet, a Genius of very little Penetration, might see, they were not so remote from it as they pretended to be. But Things were not yet ripe for Execution, and therefore they would not declare themselves on the main Point, 'till some Obstacles were remov'd. The first and most dangerous of these, was my self, whom when they found inflexible, and not to be brought over, but, on the contrary making Advances in the Interest of the House of *Hanover*; and that if I went on, I should not only fortify the Inclinations of the Queen against their Attempt, but do some publick Thing that would render the Succession impregnable, past the Power of their Party to shake it, and out of Danger of being rejected, whether the Queen should live or die; so that now all their Endeavours were dispos'd to turn me out of Power, and, if possible, out of her Majesty's Favour likewise. In Duty to her Majesty, and my Country, I laid all this Project before her, tho' I found not the like Success as I us'd to have with her Majesty, in Things not so nearly relating to my self. Yet was I wholly unconcern'd at this Event, but perform'd this Part as a Duty to the Queen, and a Discharge of that great Trust which had formerly been repos'd in me; and seeing what Concern, what Impression had been made another way, I contented my self with having discharg'd that Duty; contemplating all that which Politicians call *Self-Preservation*;

Preservation ; and entirely neglected that Party who were my inveterate Enemies, because I left them, and sacrific'd my Safety and Interest, meerly because I would not come into Measures ruinous to my Country, and to the Interest of my Sovereign.

Statesmen most certainly ought to think it their indispensable Duty always to regard the Interest and Safety of their Country ; to make it superior in all their Aims, to the most advantageous Prospects, in the greatest of their Designs ; and, in Cases of Necellity, to sacrifice their Ambition, and even their lawful Hopes, to the publick Good.

But, I fear I have tir'd your Patience ; I therefore submit to your great Wisdom what I have said ; and hope the Justice of my Cause, and my suffering, even for the common Good, nay, and for the *Whigs* themselves, will gain a favourable Censure.

S P E E C H III.

For the IMPEACHMENT.



HE hearing the L—— who spoke last, out, without Interuption, nay, the not stopping him, after the very Beginning of his *Sarcastic Defence*, is an undeniable Proof of your singular Humanity, and Easiness of Temper ; for, my L——, he has laid the whole Stress of his Defence on a very gross Abuse of your L——. I am not, I confess, much surpris'd at this uncom-

mon Conduct of that noble L——; for his has, indeed, been always very singular, and out of the Way; and as the Principles he moves by, are peculiar to himself, so are the Measures he takes to compass his Designs, what no Man living, but himself, could ever have thought of. Thus, as the Nature of his Guilt is of the most uncommon Size, so is his Defence the most extraordinary, that ever was heard. He would insinuate into your Favour, by perswading you, that you all are as abandon'd, as himself, both in good Sense and Probity. Is there any Man among you (he demands) whose real Aim is not Power, Wealth, and Dignity? Is there any Man among you, (he goes on) who makes the *publick Good*, the Safety, Honour, and Glory of his Country, and his Prince, the Standard of his Actions, and the Measure of his Conduct? Is there any Man among you, who does not, in all he does, first consider how to establish his own Power, his own Family, his own Honours? And next (or, perhaps, not at all) strive to make these join in with the real, or at least, the apparent Good of his Country? If the publick Good happen to be improv'd by your *Administration*, that is only owing to a lucky Chance, to a fortunate Conjunction of Affairs; and not to your Merit, your real and disinterested Zeal, your *Roman Love* for your Country, or the very Prince that made you.

How desperate, my L——, must this Criminal be, when he can find no other plausible Resource from his Guilt, but by endeavouring to perswade his very Judges, that they are as guilty as himself? He does, indeed, own, that he has betray'd his Country, and his Prince; that he has sacrific'd the publick Good, the Laws and Liberties of *Britain*, nay, of all *Europe*, to that momentary Grandeur

Grandeur, which his Art of Wheedling had gain'd him over a Princess, who being innocent of such Thoughts herself, could not easily imagine, those whom she had an Inclination to favour, could be guilty of.

But, to be as favourable to that noble L—— as possible, I will imagine, that Want of Sense, and not any real Design to affront you, has made him commit such an Absurdity as the calling you all Knaves and Traytors. He had heard that *Self-Love*, and *Self-Preservation*, were implanted in all Mankind, and therefore extending this Maxim beyond its natural Limits, concluded that every one was influenc'd by them, to do any thing for the Preservation of his Power, and the Increase of his Wealth, without Regard to *Right* or *Wrong*. He had heard, that *Si violandum est, Jus regnandi Causa, violandum est, ceteris rebus pietatem cole*. That the best Excuse for the departing from the Precepts of Right and Justice, is to obtain Dominion; and that Piety and Justice should be observ'd in all our other Actions.

As to the first, I shall easily acknowledge that *Self-Love* is a Principle in Nature, spread through all Mankind; but then I must add, that this *Self-Love*, well or ill understood, is the Source of all the Virtues and Vices of Mankind. Now my L——, the *Self-Love* that has directed the Actions of this noble L——, is that which is ill understood, and therefore induc'd all those Crimes, for which it will be most justly call'd to an Account by this Right Honourable House. *Self-Love*, rightly understood, will tell us, that we should never depart from the Measures and Conditions of *Self-Preservation*, which every Man does, who forsakes the Laws of *Right* and *Wrong*, who lessens the Safety and Honour

of his Country, who weakens the Force of the Laws; for all these weaken the Security of Particulars, and are therefore Sins against this Maxim of *Self-Love*, which preserves the World in Motion, which only can be maintain'd by keeping up, and strength'ning *Self-Preservation*. For, how can the Power, the Wealth, the Dignity of any Particular, give a rational Satisfaction, when they are left expos'd to the Will of a Foreign Potentate, or the Resentment of those Laws, which are the very Pledges of our enjoying them, even a Month?

Here, my L——, is the apparent Difference between that *Self-Love*, which was the Guide of the Actions of the *Whig-Ministry*, and that of the *Tory*; I mean that of the late Pacific Gentlemen, who at once gave up the Power and Security of *Europe*, purchas'd with the Blood of so many brave Soldiers, with a vast Expence of Treasure, and by such wise Councils, as will give that Ministry Place in the Front of the Heroes of our Times, when Posterity shall be an impartial Judge of their Conduct.

But, my L——, I wish this noble L—— would have done so much Justice, as to have shewn the least Particle of that *Self-Love*, which directed his Actions in those of the *Whig-Ministry*. Did not every Thing prosper which they undertook? Had we not Victories abroad as duly as we enter'd the Field? Were not our Councils the Measure of the Actions, and Conduct of all our Allies? Were we not admir'd and lov'd by all the Nations of the Earth, nay, and fear'd too? Could not they have made Peace as well as this noble L——? Could not they have pursu'd the very same Measures? No, my L——, they could not, for they were too wise, were Masters
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of too much Penetration, not to see how fading that Power was, which was built on the Destruction of *Europe*, and the aggrandizing a Monarch, who had no other View, than a Universal Monarchy; who could give no other Security to the Tools of his Designs, but his bare Word and Promise, to which he never yet was found a Slave.

This, my L—, might be a sufficient Answer to his Obloquy, did he not endeavour at last to prove this Assertion by an *Instance*, which yet we shall find incapable of producing what he aims at. I must indeed do him so much Justice, as to allow that he has pick'd out the only questionable Occurrence, that above twenty Years Administration can afford. My L——, I must, with that noble L——, allow, that there could be no greater *Security* to the *Protestant Succession*, than the Presence of the immediate Heir of the *Protestant Line* in these Kingdoms, and I was my self for it at that Time. But, my L——, there were such strange Appearances, such unusual *Phænomena* on this Occasion, as would far more surprize any one, than the great Eclipse that happen'd on the twenty second of *April* last; for that was but the just Effect of the natural Course of Things, but these were directly contrary to the very Nature of the contending Parties. There were *Tories* clamorous for the *Security*, that is, for that manner of Security of the *Protestant Succession*, and *Whigs* as warmly proceeding against it. Not, my L——, that the *Whigs* were unwilling to confirm the *Safety* of that Succession by any thing, and by all Ways; and that indeed by a Principle of *Self-Love* and *Self-Preservation*, incapable of any tolerable way of securing themselves without it; but the

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Gifts of an Enemy justly administer Cause of Suspicion; and it is plain that they meant nothing less, for when they were in Power, they were so far from doing themselves what the *Whigs* refus'd to do, that when the Succession was in apparent Danger, they deny'd the Duke of Cambridge, the present Prince of *W A L E S*, the Benefit of his Writ, which every other Peer enjoy'd, and he had an undoubted Right to.

This Cry was set up, without any Design that it should prevail at that Time, but only to throw an Odium on the *Whigs*, if they refus'd to enter into it, or to get the Reputation of being for the Succession, and so deluded the People that confided in them, to the sole Prejudice of the illustrious House of *H A N O V E R*.

Cicero tells us, that the first *Romans* made no Law against Parricides, because they thought it was impossible that such a Wickedness could enter into the Head of any Man, to kill his own Father. If this were sufficient Justification of the Omission of those old *Roman* Legislators, in imagining that the Corruptness of Particulars could never reach to the committing such a Crime; how much more are the *Whig-Ministry* at that Time to be justify'd, in not taking uncommon Measures, and uneasy at that Time, to the reigning Prince, since they could never imagine, that, let the particular Wretchedness, and vicious Principles of one or two, be never so great, they could never suppose I say, that there could arise a whole Set of Men, who would be so wicked, nay, so very foolish, as to part with their own Security, and to sacrifice it intirely, by excluding the *Protestant Heirs*, and calling in one of dubious Birth, attainted and bred in the

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Heighth of Popery and arbitrary Principles. But when Experience had convinc'd them, that there was nothing so absurd, or so villainous, which some Mens Policy could not espouse and pursue, they exerted themselves to get that Heir by legal Measures among us, whom they then wish'd had been here, and even on that *Tory* Project my L——, that they were not negligent of making the Succession as firm as Laws could make it, and establish that very Method, by which our Gracious SOVEREIGN, God be thank'd, gain'd the Possession of the Crown.

If there were any Person, whose Intentions were honest and well-meaning, for the true and sincere Service of the Royal Family, as I believe there might be, I shall always be ready to give my Word for his Reward; and I do not believe that any true Friend of his Majesty could be against it; for how can he who is a Friend to the King, be an Enemy to him who was always faithful to his Cause?

Thus triumphant, as he imagines, this noble Lord goes on, and takes it for granted, that he has prov'd, that you all have only Regard for your own temporary Power and Grandeur, and so proceeds to his Defence. He has indeed, in Print, told the World the same Matter, if not in direct Terms, yet as it may plainly and fairly be deduc'd from what he says.

His Speech from this Place, seems compos'd in Justification of himself first, and then in Accusation of his Fellow-Labourers in our Destruction. I shall take Notice of both, in what I have to say to him. But, my L——, I must tell you, that the Eyes of all *Europe* are upon you, to see what you will do with a Set of Men, who were

so near undoing us, nay, I may say, have to their Power undone both our selves and them. All *Europe*, my L——, are expecting what you will do with these Managers, who broke the *Grand Alliance*, by sending P——r and M——r to *France*, to beg a Peace in the most clandestine Manner; who receiv'd a Minister from thence, without communicating a Word of it to the *Allies*, 'till the shameful Conditions of a Treaty were agreed on: Who dissolv'd the *Confederacy*; who drew off with the *British Forces* and *Auxiliaries* from the *Confederate Army*, and expos'd them to the Rout and Slaughter at *Denain*: Who bully'd the *Dutch* to what they knew, and declar'd to be against their *Interest*, and even *Security*: Who abandon'd the Emperor, and left the *Catalans* to be butcher'd by the *French* and *Castilians*, notwithstanding their *Neutrality*; who gave up our Trade to *France* and *Spain*; who obtain'd Victories by Tumults, Violence, and the most notorious Bribery; who made Peers by Dozens; who procur'd at one Time, 500000 l. to be given them just before the *Dissolution* of a *Parliament*, under Pretence of paying the *Crown-Debts*, but distributing the Money among themselves and their Creatures, gave the Creditors of the Crown, only *Tin-Tallies* at 30 per Cent. Discount; who insulted all the Lovers of their Country, and the Enemies of *France*, in both Houses of *Parliament*; who gave Seats in the House of Peers, to *Scots* L——, known to be in the Pretender's Interest; and, at the publick Expence, got others in the same Interest, Votes in the *House of Commons*: Who affronted the Minister of *Hanover*, for presenting his Majesty's excellent Memorial, that foretold all their wicked Designs against our future Happiness; who refus'd

to admit his Highness the Duke of *Cambridge*, to his Seat in Parliament, and sent away another of the Ministers of *Hanover*, for demanding his Writ; Who modell'd the Army, putting out Officers of known Zeal to the *Protestant Succession*, and putting in others of as known Hatred to it; who promoted *Sacheverell*, a condemn'd Incendiary. to one of the most beneficial and populous Parishes in *England*; who put Men of no Fortunes into Commissions of the Peace and Lieutenancy.

What you will do with these Men, my L——, is the Subject of the Expectation of all this Nation, and the rest of *Europe*; and I am confident, that there is not one good *Briton*, but will rejoyce to see the Rigour of the Law exert it self, and Justice done to an injur'd Nation and *Confederacy*.

The Criminal, with a great deal of Calmness, passes over the Peace, as if a Thing of no manner of Complaint; he tells us of his Advancement, and how he dispos'd of Affairs afterwards; but should he not have been so just to himself at least, as to have represented in what a happy Condition our Affairs were, when he began to embroil them by his Cabals and mean Arts? Should he not have told us, that the War, as now carrying on abroad, for the Security of our *Religion* and *Liberties*, was drawing to a glorious *Issue*? That the *exorbitant Power of France* might have been so reduc'd in one Campaign more, (nay, at the very Expence of that Campaign, in which the only Use he made of our Army, was, to betray the Confederates) that *Lewis XIV* would not have thought himself safe in that Palace where he now shuffles with, and insults us? Should he not have said,

that the Credit of the Nation was then in a much more flourishing Condition, than it has been since the Peace? That our Reputation abroad, was rais'd as much above all other Nations, as it has sunk below them since he had any thing to do with us? That we had a perfect good Understanding with our Allies, were trusted by them, and could trust one another; and that all at once, by his hellish Machinations, we fell from this State of *Glory* and *Envy*, to one of *Infamy* and *Contempt*?

One would have hop'd, my L——, if not expected, to have had a Word or two in Justification of the Peace; but that is sunk as a Trifle not worth mentioning, tho' our Trade and Safety were sinking with it. What he says of the *Twelve Lords* made at once by him, to secure himself, I leave to those noble Peers to answer for themselves, and their Posterity. The first Thing he endeavours to make an Excuse for abroad, is, for abandoning the *Catalans*. In Answer to which, he is pleas'd to tell us, *that the most pressing Instances were made for them*. But when were they made? Why truly, when we had done fighting for them; when we had left the Confederates, turn'd the Balance to the Side of *France*; and the Managers knew full well, that *Philip* and *Lewis* look'd on all their Instances on that Head, as mere *Grimace* and *Shew*, they having put it out of their Power to make them effectual; and, it is more than probable, had given up themselves to *France*, so entirely in the first Steps of their Treaty, that she knew it was in her Power to ruin them, if they would not suffer her to ruin the poor *Catalans*, and all the rest of the Confederates, of which

which our own Destruction must be the sure and speedy Consequence.

My L——, cast your Eyes upon the Letters from the *Government* and *military Arm* of *Catalonia*, upon the Submission of that Province to the Confederate Powers; and then see whether they expected nothing from us, but the Privileges they enjoy'd under *Charles II.* Nay, my L——, what Motive could they have of joining *Charles III.* and the *British* Troops, and enter into a very hazardous War for, and with him, if they expected no more than they enjoy'd under *Philip V.* without any War, or any Hazard at all? The *French*, whenever they join'd them, took always Care that they should at least enjoy a greater Shew of Liberty, than they found under the *Spaniard*. Whatever was the Motive of *France*, yet it is certain they never once deserted them, never once gave them up to the Fury and Resentment of their inveterate Enemies, the *Castilians*, as our noble Managers did; never treated with *Spain*, without not only insisting on, but obliging the *Spaniards* to leave the *Catalans* better than the *French* found them. Did the poor *Catalans*, who threw themselves so unanimously, and so generously into the Arms of the *English*, a Nation affecting an equal Love of *Liberty* with themselves, expect to get nothing by it, but what the *Castilians* did then let them precariously possess? Did they venture every Thing that was dear to them, only to have *Charles III.*'s Name put in the Place of *Charles II.*? Ridiculous Absurdity! as much against Reason, as against Truth.

All that he is pleas'd to offer for his deserting the *Catalans*, now bury'd in the Ruins of *Barcelona*, once the finest City of *Spain*, is, that we left them in the Emperor's Hands, whose Sub-

jects they chose to be. What a vile Insinuation is this? As if they sought us, and not we them; as if we had not sent an Army to support them in that Choice, and a Declaration to unite them to it, as full of the most flattering Advantages that their Revolt would procure them, and of Assurances of Assistance, with Threats to invade them, and lay their Country waste, if they did not join us. But *we left them in the Emperor's Hands*; true, but in whose Hands did we leave the Emperor? In those of *France*, who invaded him with an Army of 100,000 Men; himself we abandon'd, as well as the *Catalans*. He should *have taken more Care of them*, says the noble L——, tho' he had neither Ships nor Men to send to their Assistance, and our Ships refus'd all manner of Help. He (that is, the Emperor) could not be said *not to be as able to defend them, as they have been to defend themselves*. Was it not sufficient for him to give up so many Thousands of brave Men to be massacre'd, and that beauteous and wealthy City to be laid in Ashes, but he must insult their Misery, by such Suppositions as he knows to be entirely without Ground? But, my L——, I hope you will not let the Blood of these Defenders of *Liberty* be calling in vain for Revenge.

This noble L—— has, in his Speech, and likewise in Print, been so free as to tell us, that he join'd with the *Jacobites*, advanc'd and employ'd them; but would have us believe, that by this Means, he only betray'd them, and secur'd the *Protestant Succession*. But the Steps of his Politics were very extraordinary: One would imagine it but an odd Way of securing a Government, to admit the very profess'd Enemies of it, into a Share, not of the Administration only, but of the Legislature; for there is hardly one of the sixteen
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of that Time, but is mention'd in the *Scots Memoirs*, as a Friend to the *Pretender*; and many of them the most active and busy in his intended Invasion. By this Means, his L—— made Shift, by *Dozens* and *Sixteens*, to jumble up a *Majority*, which carry'd every Thing his L—— had a Mind should pass for the Advantage of himself or Counsels. But what appears farther than his L—— would willingly have it, is, that these *Jacobites* were so far from being baffled in their Designs, by being admitted into the Administration, that they had Power and Interest to turn his L—— out of all Power and Interest; and what else they might have done, had their Administration continu'd, I think is pretty obvious to all Men of common Sense. But whether his concerting Measures with the Leaders of the *Jacobite Party* for four Years together, and doing so many Things daily, as so weaken'd the Interest of the *Protestant Succession*, as to bring it into the utmost Peril, will be aton'd for, by declaring his Zeal for it, when he had no Power to serve it, I leave to your L——. It is plain, that all his Administration, it was attack'd in Print, with the highest Impunity; nay, that this Zealot for the *Protestant Succession*, got a Pardon for a Traytor, who had written the most dangerous Pamphlet against his Majesty's Family, that was publish'd in those dismal Times. But these are Actions which give us little Reason to imagine he had any better Designs, than he has charg'd his Fellow Managers with.

As for all that Part of his Speech, in which he has play'd the Accuser, I shall only observe two Things, First, That he plainly makes it out, that he was himself the chief, if not only the Spring of Motion in the Ministry; and that all the Rest
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had to do, was only to sign his Orders, and improve his Conduct; so that if any Thing be done amiss, any Thing criminal, in my Opinion, he chiefly, if not solely, ought to answer, and suffer for it. The other Thing I shall observe, is, that tho' he had so far forgot the Duty of a Statesman, as to allow no Motive to his Actions, but his Aims at Power, Wealth, and Dignity, without Regard to Justice, the Public Good, or the like: Yet, when the Warmth of his Resentment against those who had thrown him into the Number of the Displac'd, had carry'd him from his Ambition, to his Revenge, he could tell us, — *That a Statesman most certainly ought to think it his indispensable Duty, always to regard the Interest and Safety of his Country, to make it superior in their Aims to the most advantageous Prospects, and the greatest of their Designs; and, in Cases of Necessity, to sacrifice their Ambition, and even lawful Hopes, to the Public Good.*

Out of thy Mouth will I condemn thee, thou wicked Steward. — Yet, my L——; by the Conclusion of his Speech, he is self-condemn'd; and I hope, therefore, that your L—— will with me agree, that he ought, at least, by an Impeachment, to be oblig'd to render a more solemn Account of his Actions, and undergo what is due to his Desert, or Demerit.

SPEECH

S P E E C H IV.

For the IMPEACHMENT.

SHALL, my L——, in what I have to offer to your L——, take no farther Notice of what my L—— of O—— has said in his Speech, since, I think, that is sufficiently answer'd by the noble L—— who spoke last. I shall only lay before you the State of Affairs, as they were during that Ministry, justly now held in Detestation by all *Europe*, except the common Enemy of *Europe*.

First then, the *late Ministry*, who were then coming into Play, got the Parliament of Patriots dissolv'd: The next Step they take, is, to employ abandon'd Miscreants, to traduce and villify the former *Ministry*, as well as all those who were for the glorious REVOLUTION, King *William*, and the *Protestant Succession*, and consequently against the *Pretender*; and to banter our reasonable Apprehensions of the *Pretender*, as well as to write for his Succession. They next rais'd all the *Mobs* of *Jacobites*, *Non-Jurors*, and *Papists*, that burnt the Meeting-houses of the Dissenters, to the great Hazard of once again firing the City of *London*. Next, by their riotous and tumultuous Elections, they bought the next *House of Commons*, and arraign the foregoing *Ministry*, by voting *Mismanagements* at Home and Abroad, which, had they been true, deserv'd not only *Impeachments*, but *ATTAINDERS*. But how villainous was it to expose that Ministry to the Hatred of the

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Publick, by Votes and Resolutions of the *Commons* of *Great Britain*, without bringing them to their Trial, that they might have clear'd themselves if Innocent, or be brought to condign Punishment if guilty? How *villainous* is it indeed, to vote any Mismanagement, and not impeach the Criminals? For this is to encourage Male-Administration, and to discourage all faithful Dealings in publick Affairs, making the first secure, and the latter the contrary.

In the next Place, our Embassador in *Spain* offer'd the *Spanish* Court, on the Part of her Majesty, what Number of our Men of War that Court had a Mind to, and such as they should chuse, and at moderate Rates; and discharging our Sea-men, give them leave to list in the *French* Service. Again, the late *Ministry* made her late Majesty break all her Alliances against *France*, and clap up a separate Peace with *France*, notwithstanding the late *Treasurer* assur'd the House of Lords, in a solemn Debate, that there was no separate Peace, and that the same would be *foolish*, *knavisb*, and *villainous*. This very *Ministry* made her Majesty desert the Emperor, whom, by the strictest Alliances, and repeated Declarations, she was bound to assist. Thus they made her give up *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to *France*, in Violation of the most solemn Leagues, in Contradiction to her repeated Declarations, that no Peace could be safe and lasting, while *Spain* and the *West-Indies* remain'd in the House of *Bourbon*. The late *Ministry* enter'd into separate Measures with *France*, in direct Violation of our Alliances; scandalize, villify, and traduce all our Allies; send to, and receive daily Couriers from the *French* Court; make few or no Preparations for War, either by Sea or Land, and act in such a Manner as declar'd
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they would have a Peace *right* or *wrong*, as was made appear; and yet they assur'd the *Allies*, that they would not separate from them, but would act vigorously that Campaign against *France*. Thus indeed they behav'd themselves, that the *Allies* could not but think a separate Peace would be struck up; yet they assur'd them, that they would act offensively against *France*. But having a Mind to fall out with the *Dutch*, they started Difficulties about the *Barrier-Treaty*, and particularly about the *Assiento*; but tho' the States had given their Plenipotentiaries such Instructions as would have adjusted that Matter to mutual Satisfaction, yet, to prevent the agreeing of these Difficulties, my Lord *Strefford* went away without finishing the Affair; then the Duke of *Ormond* refus'd to fight the *French*, by Reason of the Orders sent him by the late *Ministry*; and afterwarwards they declare to the *Dutch*, that *her Majesty* look'd on herself to be *discharg'd from all Obligations with them*. Again, on the Descent in *Spain*, 1710, the *House of Commons* address'd her Majesty to send and procure new Troops to repair this Loss; yet no Forces were sent from hence, nor Foreigners hir'd to that End.

One Thing I must observe to you, my L——, because it just now occurs to my Memory: We had no sooner the News of the Duke of *Marlborough's* passing the *French* Lines, but we were surpris'd with publick Accounts, that Mr. *Prior* had been in *France*, and was return'd with a Pass, and that the *French* were in Hopes of a Peace. As Mr. *Prior's* Journey to *France* was not communicated to our *Allies*, as by our Treaty it ought to have been; so neither were the Preliminaries brought over by Mr. *Mesnager*, 'till her Majesty had first sign'd them: Nay, this very *French* Mi-

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mister was kindly receiv'd at our Court, at the same Time that Count *Gallas* was forbid it.

It was said by the Lord who spoke last but one, that he left the *Catalans* in the Hands of the Emperor; but he did not tell you, that Admiral *Jennings* not only refus'd to transport the Imperial Commander from *Italy* into *Catalonia*, but took a-Board all the *English* that were in that Province, to carry them to *Port Mahon*. When we had treacherously agreed to a Suspension of Arms, one of our Plenipots for the Peace, went *incognito* to Marshal *Villars's* Army, which was follow'd by the *English*, making themselves Masters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, thereby securing the Command of the *Lys* and the *Schelde*; which so frighten'd the Army of the Allies, that it put a Stop to their Progress.

We may, indeed, observe, that the late Ministry dealt very openly in what they did, and shew'd that they were under no manner of Apprehensions of any Censure of their Actions, private or publick, for they did it without Disguise. Thus they had Mr. *Ridge* expell'd the House, for his Contract with the Fleet, and the Minute after, agreed with him on more beneficial Terms to himself, and less to the Public, to furnish the Navy with Beer. At the same Time that they accus'd the foregoing Ministry of exceeding the Parliamentary Funds in the Time of War, they themselves exceeded the Parliamentary Provisions, the two next Campaigns, 600,000*l.* the first Campaign, and 700,000*l.* the next, tho' the Parliament had made the same Provisions these two Years, as in any other Year of the War. The Expence of the Year 1712, exceeded the Parliamentary Provisions above half a Million. The Expedition to *Quebeck* was an Exceeding of Parliamentary Provisions.

visions; and tho' Accounts of all this were laid before the House of Commons, yet was there no Notice taken of it. The House of Commons complain'd of supplying Provisions to Land-Forces on Board, without deducting from the Pay of those Forces, nor any Thing assign'd to the Victualling; yet the very same Thing was done for the Regiments that were sent to *Spain*, at the latter End of 1710, and in the Expedition to *Quebeck*; and tho' these Forces were under Consideration, and going on at the very same Time that that Parliament were censuring the foregoing Ministry for the very same Mismanagement.

The great Revenues of the Duke of *Marlborough* were exclaim'd against, to render him odious; but the Duke of *Ormond*, upon his being made General, had immediately 5000*l.* paid him for his Equipage, which the Duke of *Marlborough* never had, or ask'd for; had Allowance of 500*l.* *per Menssem* for his Table, which the Duke of *Marlborough* never had or ask'd; these were paid out of the two and half *per Cent.* that the House of Commons voted public Money, and to be employ'd to the public Service. Add to this 600*l.* *per Menssem*, and add the 5000*l.* for Equipage, and then see whether the two and half *per Cent.* will make it good to the Public; the Difference therefore is this, — The Foreigners, by Treaty, gave it the Duke of *Marlborough*, for Contingencies and secret Services; the Parliament censur'd him for receiving it, and yet they then grant it themselves, or, which is the same Thing, the Ministry for them, to the new General; for what? for *Contingencies* and *secret Services*? No, for his EQUIPAGE and TABLE. Ten thousand Pounds granted for secret Services the Year before, is likewise issu'd to our new General, tho' it was obvious

obvious to every one, there could possibly be no manner of Use for it, the War being at an End, and a secret Peace made. Besides this, our new General was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Colonel of the first Regiment of Foot-Guards, of a Regiment of Horse; General and Commander in chief at 20*l.* *per Diem*; add all these Incomes, and see whether 40000*l.* *per Ann.* will not come short of it.

Again, by the late Peace, they have not only given up to *France* Part of the Island and Trade of *New-found-land*, contrary to the 10 & 11 of W. 3. Cap. 25. which gives the whole Trade of that Island to the English, and expressly enacts, that no Alien or Stranger whatever, (not residing in the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed) shall at any Time hereafter take any Bait, or use any Sort of Trade or Fishing whatever in *New-found-land*, or in any of the said Islands or Places above-mention'd; but they have likewise given up the very best Part thereof.

The late Ministry took Care to secure themselves, as they thought, against after Reckonings, by securing to themselves, by Bribery in Elections, a Majority in the House of Commons, which, with the Addition of the twelve Lords, and sixteen Scots Dependents in the Pretender's Interest, they so far attain'd, that they got what Mismanagements at Home and Abroad, voted as they had a Mind, so to make the Nation eager after a Peace on any Terms, and consequently willing to give up *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*; for that was done in direct Violation of Treaties, Alliances, and many Speeches from the Throne, and Messages from the Queen to both Houses of Parliament, and the Addresses of both Houses, for ten Years together.

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They accus'd the foregoing *Ministry*, for suffering our Allies to treat us with Insolence and Contempt: Yet, upon our having agreed with *France* on the Terms of Peace, if the foreign Troops in our Pay, had separated with the Duke of *Ormond* from Prince *Eugene's* Army, the *French* had form'd a Design of encompassing the Duke's Troops, and those of the *States*, and of disarming the Foreigners in our Pay; and *French* Protestants naturaliz'd, and others born in *England*, which with her Majesty's Pass were clap'd up in the Bastile, and with great Difficulty deliver'd, and order'd to get out of *France* in 24 Hours. What greater Affronts can be offer'd? What greater Contempt can be shewn by one Prince to another, than what *France* has, on this Occasion, offer'd her late Majesty? Did the *Dutch*, or any of our late Allies, treat her with so much Scorn and Contempt?

Tho', by the Terms of Peace, the *French* King was not only to acknowledge, in the strongest Terms, the *Protestant* Succession, as by Law establish'd, in the House of *Hanover*, to these Kingdoms; but also to give an additional Security, by the Removal of that Person out of the Dominions of *France*, who had pretended to disturb this Settlement. *France*, indeed, remov'd him to *Bar-le-Duc* in *Lorain*; but how can that be call'd, out of his Dominions, when the Duke of *Lorain* is plainly, by his Answer to the Representations of the Bishop of *London*, no more than Lord Lieutenant of his own Country, under *France*? From this very Retreat, the *Pretender* had the Assurance, under the Name of *James III*, King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. to send out his solemn Protestation to *Utrecht*, against all that should be done against his pretended Right. Farther, supposing that *Bar-le-duc* were out of the Dominions
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of *France*; yet, such a Removal would only be an evading the Terms of Peace, and no true Performance thereof, since it appears, he continues to adhere to his Interest as firmly as ever, by causing all the Couriers that pass'd between *Versailles* and *Rastadt*, to take their Way through *Bar-le-duc*; and since the Duke of *Berwick* frequently has gone between *Versailles* and *Bar-le-duc*, &c. is not this breaking through a principal Article of the Peace? What if I should mention *Dunkirk* not yet demolish'd, tho' it were to have been done within five Months after the Conditions of Peace were concluded and sign'd?

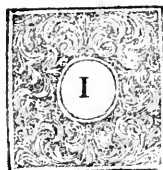
By the late Treaty of Commerce, between her late Majesty and the *French* King, it is agreed and concluded, that there should be a reciprocal and entirely perfect Liberty of Navigation and Commerce between the Subjects of each Prince, thro' all and every the Kingdoms, States, Dominions, and Provinces of their Royal Majesties in *Europe*, &c. But soon after, the *French* King, by a new Edict, prohibits all *French* Protestants that are trading into *France*. Is not this a direct Violation of the said Treaty? So soon too? What then may we expect in a longer Time? Can any one Instance, like this Behaviour of the *French*, ever be found in that of the *Dutch*, or any of our late Allies?

The foregoing Ministry were accus'd of being misled by visionary Prospects, and Romantic Views; and yet the late Ministry would impose on us, as a Reality, a firm Benefit, the *South-Sea Project*; by which we were to send Ships thither a twenty Months Voyage, to trade with an Enemy, without Forts, or Means of maintaining them at this Distance, if we had them; whilst the *French* have an open Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*. I
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should be glad to know what Ships we have already sent thither? How many more Hands have been employ'd at Home, in working up Manufactures to be exported thither, than before? What Commodities we have brought back to employ our Poor, in working up into Manufactures? What Increase of Shipping and Sea-men has been? But this Project, and giving up *Spain* to the House of *Bourbon*, the late *Ministry* thought most proper to go together. Whereas, had the Emperor preserv'd his Footing in *Spain*, and by the Peace have secur'd it to the House of *Austria*, we should have had a free Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, exclusive of the *French*. This was agreed to by the late Emperors, and Power sent to put it in Execution, as soon as the Vice-Roy in new *Spain* had submitted to old *Spain*, then in the Hands of our Allies.

It appears, therefore, my L——, by these plain Matters of Fact, and might be made yet more plain by other Instances, that no Nation was ever so long and so scandalously abus'd, by the Folly and Temerity, the Corruption and Ambition of its Domestick Enemies; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice, and Ingratitude, by its new foreign Friends.

S P E E C H V.

Against the IMPEACHMENT.

Doubt not, my L——, that it will be expected, that I, who had so considerable a Hand in these Affairs, and by Consequence must have as considerable a Share in the Guilt or Glory of what was done, as any Man, should say something in my own Behalf: This is what Nature requires, whose first Maxim is *Self-Preservation*; for, not to offer any Thing in my own Defence, is to make a tacit Confession of the Guilt; whereas, I flatter myself, that the Justice of so many *Britons*, so many wise and good Men, will weigh with mature Deliberation, not only the Facts, but their Natures, their Circumstances, and Position, for much of their Innocence, or Guilt, depend on these Particulars, as far as I can collect, from what has been urg'd, both within Doors and without. The principal Thing that we were charg'd with in the late Ministry, is the making this Peace that we now enjoy, and that in the Manner of obtaining it, and in the Conditions on which it is built; the first as dishonourable to the *English* Name, the latter as destructive of the *English* Trade, Power, and Reputation.

Peace itself, my L——, I hope is no Crime; for sure no Man is so abandon'd to private Gain, as to be content there should always be War, provided he had a large Share in the Benefits of it. I cannot think human Nature so far corrupted
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and debas'd, as to take Delight in Slaughter and Destruction ; nay, I would fain yet go farther, and think, that most Men would rather give up a little of their just Claim, to compose Differences; the violent Decision of which, would be very expensive in Blood and Treasure. Arbitrations in Law, have often prov'd more beneficial to that Side that gains least by them, than the pursuing the Suit to the last Sentence in the House of Lords.

If therefore, the Terror of a long, bloody, and expensive War, had surpris'd us into a Desire of putting an End to the Mischief, even with some seeming Disadvantage, which the Continuance of the War would have avoided ; yet, I hope, my L——, that would be consider'd with a Tenderness, which would cover any Peccadillo in the Management of a Treaty with a Person so expert, and so designing, as the *French* King is known to be. We were, I own, my L——, but fresh Politicians, to so old a Stager, who, for above sixty Years had manag'd the Affairs of *Europe* to his own Advantage, by the Force of his own Understanding.

Tho' I should flatter myself, my L——, with these Hopes from your Justice and Goodness, yet, if I am not extreamly mistaken, we have yet a surer Defence, by proving, first, that the Authority we walk'd by, was not only sufficient to justify what we did, but was also unaccountable for the Orders and Commands it gave. And next, that we have done no more in making this Peace, than what is agreeable to Justice, Honour, and the Good of this Nation.

As to the first, I shall only say, that it is the undoubted Right of the Crown, to make War and Peace. — Which, if true, as I never heard it dis-

puted, what has any Body to do, to call us, or any other Ministers of the Crown, to an Account, for putting the Orders of the Crown in Execution, in a Thing which is allow'd on all Hands to be the proper Subject of the Prerogative of the Crown? Nay, had it not been Sedition, or little less than Treason, for me to deny the Seals, when commanded by her Majesty, to put them to a Treaty, she, by her *Ministers*, had concluded? What, can the making of Peace, be the Prerogative of the Crown, and yet the Crown accountable for the making of Peace? Is not this a Contradiction? If the Crown be not accountable for a Thing, certainly the Ministers of the Crown must be so too; for, without Ministers, the Crown is not suppos'd to act; or can it indeed by it self negotiate with a foreign Prince. but by Interview, or by the Mediation of Ministers on both Sides.

If then it be thus plain, that we did nothing in the Name of the Crown, nor by its Authority, which was not its Right and its Due to use; I hope, my L——, there can be nothing criminal laid to our Charge, in paying Obedience to our Sovereign Lady, in an Act, which in itself is so far from being unlawful, that it is allow'd on all Hands, to be the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown.

But, my L——, I shall not so shelter our selves under the Prerogative of the Crown, as to throw up all other Defence. What we have done, we thought agreeable to the Interest of our Country, and then, how far it was agreeable to any Ally, was not worthy our Consideration. It is certain, that every Nation has a peculiar Interest to pursue, which may interfere with the Interests of another Nation, which, with Circumstances, and Conjunctions of Affairs, might *pre tempore* engage in an Alliance;

Alliance; but when the Advantage of this Alliance is reap'd but by one Part, I can see no Reason why the other should not disengage itself from Terms so injurious to its Profit.

I think the Parliamentary Sentiments made on that Affair, are a sufficient Justification of what we have done; the Neglect and Deficiency of our Allies, were abundantly made out; and it was thence plain, that, at our own Expence, we conquer'd for the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*, with little or no Regard to any future Advantage to our selves. But the Ballance of Power is the specious Pretence which our Enemies make use of at this Time, to render this Peace odious to the People. I confess, that during the Life of the late Emperor *Joseph*, I was against yielding the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Bourbon*; but by the Death of that Emperor, the Face of Affairs was very much chang'd in *Europe*, and principally in Relation to the *Ballance of Power*; for all the vast Dominions of the House of *Austria*, being re-united with the Imperial Crown, in the Person of one Prince, would form in him a greater Power, than when they were divided into two Monarchies; and this Change happening in the Things themselves, the same ought naturally to occasion an Alteration in the Measures. Nor is there any Fear, I mean, any rational Fear, that the Interest of *France* and *Spain* will be united. The *French* King was then in the 74th Year of his Age, and could not therefore be suppos'd to live long; so that in all Appearance, the Crown will descend to a Minor, and the then governing Regent (not having the same Authority, or Forces, nor the same Revenues, which the present King has) will have no farther Views, than to preserve the Kingdom, and will not think it adviseable to trouble
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the Repose of *Europe*. The King of *Spain* will pursue a new Scheme of Politics, and find himself under a Necessity of keeping in with the *Maritime Powers*, and will court their Friendship, by restoring to them the Freedom of Trade.

This last Consideration will remove any Disadvantages, any Oversight of ours may have given us, sa to either *France* or *Spain*. Thus, my L——, I hope I have fully clear'd the managing Part of the late Ministry, from those Crimes laid so violently to their Charge; and shewn, that as they acted by undoubted Authority, in the Conclusion of this Peace, so they had as wise and honest Views in it, as human Prudence, inspir'd by the Love of our Country, could afford.



S P E E C H VI.

For the IMPEACHMENT.



THE noble L—— who spoke last, my L——, has given us the Sum of all that has been, or can indeed be urg'd by the *late Ministry*, in the Defence of what they have done. The chief Resource is, the Prerogative of the Crown to make War or Peace; the *undoubted* Prerogative they call it. I confess, I, who know not what they mean by the Word, may well be to seek in the Extent of it. I know this, that it is a Word that is never, or very seldom us'd, but by those who have endeavour'd to set up *Arbitrary Power*, and advance the King's Will above all the Laws. Thus, in *James II's* Time, it was judg'd to be the Prerogative

Prerogative of the Crown to dispense with, that is, in Reality to dissolve Acts of Parliament. This I know, that our best Princes have never made any Use of the Word or Thing ; and that nothing has been so clamour'd, as Prerogative, when we have had Princes, whose Understanding expos'd them to be the Properties of their own Creatures, and designing Favourites. But as to *Peace* and War, either it is meant the Crown has an undoubted Right to make a *good Peace*, or a good or bad Peace, without Regard to the Merit and Justice of either Peace or War. If confin'd to the first, no Man would make one Word of it ; if stretch'd to the last, then the Prince can dispose of the Lives and Properties of his Subjects, as of Sheep and Cattle ; nay, make his Country tributary, as King *John* did, to the *Pope*, and all justly, and without any Complaint to be made. But a King of *England* is not King *ex Dominio*, as they call it, but by Law ; nor can he give away that Right by Prerogative, which his very Office is made to preserve. Now, it is evident that Trade is as much the Subject's Property, as any Part of the Land of this Nation ; nay, and such a Property as maintains much the Majority of the People. Such a Peace, therefore, as destroys, or lessens, or injures Trade, is disposing of the Property of the People ; especially, a Trade fix'd on them by Act of Parliament ; such as that of *Newfoundland*, which this Peace has betray'd to the *French* in great Part. Whenever, therefore, the Crown makes an injurious Peace to the People, the Ministers who transact at it, are accountable for it, for the King can do no Wrong.

Thus much my L——, for what the noble Lord who spoke last, has urg'd on the formidable Head of the Prerogative of the Crown,
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in making Peace and War. I now come to the specious Reasons made by him, in Justification of the Peace that was made. To say nothing of Breach of our Articles of Alliance, in treating with the Enemy without the Consent or Knowledge of our Allies, whereby is broken the eighth Article of Alliance between *Great Britain*, the *Emperor*, and the *States General*, which imports, *That the War being once begun, it shall not be lawful for any of the Allies to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unless it be jointly, and with the Participation and Advice of the other Party; nor shall the said Peace be concluded, till a just and reasonable Satisfaction has been obtain'd for the Emperor; and that in the Treaties made in the Years 1703 and 1704, with the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy, the Restitution of the Monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria, is laid down as a Foundation; and, in the Treaty with Savoy, it is declar'd in particular, that the Queen of Great Britain, and the States General, look upon that Restitution as their own Concern.* I will not, my L——; I say, urge the Perfidy shewn by our late Ministry, in breaking through all these solemn Engagements, since that has been already mention'd to you by those noble L—— who spoke to this Point before me. I shall only consider whether the Interest of this Nation, that is in Reality inseparable from that of the common Cause, be effectually secur'd by this Peace, and the Measures taken by the late Ministry.

It would be losing of Time, to prove that the Interest and Security of the Allies, and by consequence of *Britain* likewise, can no where be found, but in a perfect Ballance of Power between the two Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, because every Body seems to agree in it. The
Question

Question therefore was, at the Conclusion of this Peace, *Wherein it consists?* It is plain, that before the Year 1711, her Majesty and the *British* Parliament, entertain'd very differing Thoughts of this Matter, from the Concluders of the present Peace, as is plain from her Majesty's Speech *Novemb. 9, 1703*, and the Addresses of Thanks of both Houses thereupon; her Majesty's Speech the 27th of *October, 1705*; the Addresses of the Lords, *November 1, 1705*; the Address of the Commons, *November 6, 1705*; the Queen's Speech, *December 7, 1706*; the Address of the Lords, *December 5*, and that of the Commons, *Decemb. 19, 1706*. the Queen's Answer to this last Address; the Speech of the Lords Commissioners to the Parliament, *Novemb. 18, 1708*, and the Lords Addrefs thereupon.

After these *venerable Authorities*, I think there needs no Reflections of mine; for from these Things are apparent the Thoughts of the late King *William*, the Deliverer of *Great Britain*, and of her Majesty Queen *Anne*, and of both Houses of Parliament, jointly and separately, that is, the purest Sense of the whole *British* Nation, of the *High Allies*, and, indeed, of all *Europe*, (except the *French* only) who with one Voice cry out by the Mouth of the *British* Parliament, *The War is just and necessary; the Balance of Power in Europe cannot be restor'd, but by restoring the Monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria; no Peace can be safe, honourable, or lasting, whilst the French King is in a Condition to break it. Nothing can be more forcible, more convincing, and more to the Purpose. But if we will have Recourse to Experience, the surest, tho' at the same Time the dearest Way of Information, we have the Experience of above forty Years, from the Peace of Munster. For, notwithstanding those famous Treaties,*

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ties, which restoring Peace to the *Emperor*, and the *United Provinces*, seem'd to have restor'd the *Balance of Power*, and secur'd the Liberty of *Europe*; *France* carry'd on the War against *Philip* in *Spain*, *Italy*, and the *Low-Countries*, and forc'd that Prince to conclude a disadvantageous Peace in the Year 1659. But as soon as this *Pyrenean Treaty* was sign'd, the *Balance* of the two Powers was destroy'd; and from that fatal Day, the Influence of *France* reach'd from one End of the World to the other, almost without Exception. It was felt in the *East* and *West-Indies*, by the ruining of their Trade, and establishing of several Companies; in *Lorain*, by the Oppression of Duke *Charles* and his Subjects; in *Spain*, by the solemn Preparations exacted from King *Philip*, about the Disputes that happen'd between the Embassadors of the two Crowns; in *England*, by the Sale of *Dunkirk*; at *Genoa*, by the Necessity impos'd on that Republick, to expel Cardinal *Imperiali*, one of their Nobles, who had taken Sanctuary there; in *Africa*, by the Wars against *Tunis*, *Algier*, and *Tripoly*; at *Rome*, by the Treaty of *Pisa*, the Erection of the ignominious Pyramid, and the Legation of Cardinal *Chigi*, the Pope's Nephew; all which happen'd within the Space of seven Years. Then came the War of 1667, in which *France* took eleven Towns in one Campaign, and the whole *French Comté* in a few Days. This occasion'd the *Triple League* in 1668, tho' the same was broken three Years after, to the Damage of all *Europe*. In 1670 the most Christian King seiz'd on all *Lorain*, without any Opposition; and, in 1671, the bare Progress he made into the *Netherlands*, to fortify *Dunkirk*, cast all *Spain* into an Alarm. In 1672, he fell on the *United Provinces*, and penetrated beyond *Utrecht*, without sending so much as a Herald to denounce War.

A Detail of what has happen'd since, my L——, would be tedious and useleſs, ſince every Body knows on what Conditions the Peace of *Nimeguen* was made, and how well it was obſerv'd; upon what Pretences *Straſburg* was taken, *Caffel* bought, *Luxemburg* conquer'd, and *Genoa* bombarded. Nor is the World ignorant, on what Foot the Truce was made in 1684, or how powerful and dreadful the Influence of *France* was in *Germany*, *England*, and *Holland*. Call to mind the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate* and *Cologne*; the Tranſactions in *England*, and at *Rome*, from the Year 1685 to 1689. Then take a Review of the Events of the War after the *Revolution*, and of the haughty Carriage of *France* in the Treaty of *Ryſwick*; attend the Steps of that Crown, in the Execution of that Peace, in her Treaty of *Partition*, and in the general Invaſion of all the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. Conſider in all theſe, her State, her Splendor, her Leſtineſs, her Credit, her Power; view the Richneſs of her Commerce, her vaſt Revenues, the great Number of her fortify'd Towns, the Extent of her Conqueſts, and the Strength of her Armies and Fleets. Certainly if you reflect on all theſe, if you conſider that ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, *France* is only beholding to her own Forces, for all the Advantages, and the Predominance ſhe has uſurp'd over the reſt of *Europe*; that ſhe always made War without *Allies*; that ſhe has defeated the Enemies Armies, fir'd their ſtrong Towns, and conquer'd their Provinces; and that ſhe never made any Treaty with them, without retaining part of her Conqueſts. If, I ſay, you fix your whole Thoughts on all theſe Things, and with an unprejudic'd Mind you afterwards conſider the Condition of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in her two Branches, what ſhe has been able to do a-

gainst so many unjust Assaults, since the Time of the said *Pyrenean Treaty*; her constant and irreparable Loss; the Necessity which the *Emperor, Holland, England*, and several other Princes and States, to join their Forces and Councils for their common Safety; the small Success which their united Arms had in the former Wars, and the Danger they were in of a total Subversion at the Beginning of the last, you will undoubtedly agree, that the taking away from the House of *Austria* one half of her Dominions, (and that the most valuable Half by much) to give them to a Prince of *France*, cannot be the Means of restoring the Balance, and securing the Liberty of *Europe*. There is no great Skill in the Mathematics, requir'd to comprehend that the more one takes from the Weak, to give to the Strong, the farther one goes from the Point of Equality, especially if the Forces of the Stronger are united, and those of the Weaker divided and dispers'd. This is, however, that our Peace-makers have done in this Peace which they have given us.

But, in order to come to a true Knowledge of an *Equilibrium*, or Balance, between the two Houses, we must endeavour to get a true Estimate of the Strength and Weakness of both. But, my L——, it is not the Diversity of Provinces and Languages, or by the Extent of Dominions, that is to be known; for, by that, the *Grand Seignior* alone would be more potent than all *Europe* put together: Nor is it to be known by the Number or Majesty of Crowns, for Power and Dignity do not always go together. But the Power of Princes is to be known, *First*, by the Greatness of their Revenues, ordinary and extraordinary. *Secondly*, by the Richness and Extent of their Trade. *Thirdly*, by the Number
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of their Forces, both in Peace and War. *Fourthly*, by the State of their Marine and Naval Forces. *Fifthly*, by the Number and Goodness of their Fortresses. *Sixthly*, by the unnecessary Expences they defray. And, *Seventhly*, by their Victories and Conquests. As to the *first*, the fix'd Revenues of the King of *France*, did, in the Year 1688, amount to near sixty Millions of Crowns; and the extraordinary Sums he has rais'd since, are not less than forty Millions of Crowns yearly; so that he does actually levy above 100 Millions of Crowns *per Annum*: Whereas those of the Monarchy of *Spain* do not amount to above twenty Millions of Crowns; nor do those of the House of *Austria* exceed the same Sum; so that the two Branches of that House together, cannot spend above forty Millions of Crowns *per Ann.* which, in Proportion to the Revenues of the House of *Bourbon*, makes only $\frac{2}{7}$ against $\frac{5}{7}$. As to the *second Point*, if we examine their Commerce, the Proportion will be much the same; that of *Spain* being very little, that of *Naples* and *Sicily* less, and that of the *Netherlands* nothing at all. We must consider, that the Treasures of the *Indies*, which supply the Luxury of all *Europe*, don't enrich the *Spaniards*; and if the Kings of *Spain* had no more of them than what is their Due, they would scarce be able to make a Million and half of Crowns *per Annum*. Every one almost knows the hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*, are not proper for Commerce, either by their Situation or Product: That the Gold Mines of *Hungary*, do not produce 15 *per Cent.* to those that Farm them; and, that excepting the Mines and Pearls of *Silesia*, the rest signify nothing.

As to the *third Point*, the House of *Austria* is so far from being equal to *France* in Number
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of Troops, that all the Confederates together are scarce able to equal them. 'Tis well known, that the *French* King maintains 200000 Men in Time of Peace, and 350000 in Time of War : Whereas the late King *Charles II*, in the former War, kept only 35000 in *Spain*, 15000 in the Dutchy of *Milan*, 16000 in *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca* ; 2000 in the Places of *Tuscany*, and 20000 in the *Netherlands* ; in all 85000 Men. The present Emperor has lately had on foot above 130000 Men, of which 100000 stood against *France* ; but then he exerted his utmost Efforts, and employ'd all the Revenues of *Italy* and *Bavaria* for their Maintenance. The House of *Austria* might indeed, as formerly, entertain 200000 Men, provided the *Spanish* Monarchy had not been taken from her ; but what Proportion is there between 200000 Men dispers'd throughout *Europe*, and 350000 Men collected together in the Kingdom of *France* alone ? Where then should we find the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, of which our late Managers was so fearful ? Perhaps (which is the Point) in her Maritime Power ? and how do we know, but that the Court of *Vienna* may equip a Fleet on the *Danube*, capable of bombarding *Brest*, *Toulon*, and *London* ? Pardon the Railery, it was so obvious from the Absurdity of those Notions, that I could not pass it. But believing the Matter of Fact, that *Charles II* of *Spain* never had 15 Men of War together ; and it is certain, that the *French* King had, in the Year 1689, 120 of the finest Men of War in the World, 45 Gallies, and Arsenals and Store-houses, not to be match'd elsewhere. In the *fifth Place*, the same may be said of the fortify'd Towns, of which there are 130 in the Kingdom of *France*, the least of which, is able to hold out against a
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Royal Army, and 60 of them are Master-Pieces, justly admir'd by all that see them. The House of *Austria* has indeed as many, if not more; but the Difference is, that those of *France* lie so contiguous, that they seem so many Bastions round its Contingent; and the Court having its Residence far in the *Centre*, is always near enough to dispatch Orders, and send immediate Succours; whereas those of the House of *Austria*, are dispers'd in *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, *Barbary*, *Low-Countries*, *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Carinthia*, *Austria*, *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Tyrol* on the *Rhine*, and elsewhere, which in some manner bars any Communication. Besides, that the Frontiers guard'd by those Places, are of ten Times greater Extent than those of *France*, and, which is more, are to be garrison'd out of the 200000 Men, which is all the House of *Austria* can maintain. Tho' (in the *sixth Place*) unnecessary Expences don't contribute to the Greatness of Princes, yet they may serve as Indications to form a Judgment thereupon. There never was a Prince more expensive, magnificent, and generous, than the *French King*, witness his Furniture belonging to his Palaces, Gardens, and Feasts; the prodigious Number of his Domestick Officers, and immense Riches he has heap'd on those that have serv'd him; the boasted Works for the Communication of Seas; the vast Number of Pensioners, both within and without his Kingdom. There is nothing like this in the House of *Austria*; they have no Funds for Magnificence, being perpetually harrass'd by indispensable Wars.

In the *last Place*, to speak of the *French King's* Victories and Conquests, would be too tedious; the Authors of that Nation having been verbose enough on them, I shall content my self with giving a bare List of his Conquests, from the
Treaty

Treaty of *Munster*, to the Peace of *Ryswick*. They comprehend eight Sovereign Provinces, two Arch-Bishopricks, nine Bishopricks, thirty of the strongest Places in the World, seventy Cities, some of them being reckon'd among the finest in the World, and about 3000 Market Towns or Villages.

But it is pretended by the L—— that spoke last, that the Death of the late Emperor *Joseph*, has very much chang'd the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, and particularly in Relation to the *Balance of Power*; they pretend, that all the vast Dominions of the House of *Austria* being re-united with the Imperial Crown, in the Person of one, will form to him a greater Power, than when they were divided into two Monarchies; and that this Change happening in the Things themselves, the same ought naturally to occasion an Alteration in the Measures. I need not repeat the rest. — I confess, I can clearly comprehend, that the Monarchy of *Spain*, being join'd to that of *Germany*, will form a new Monarchy, equal in Power to the two former; but I cannot conceive that the new Monarchy will be any more powerful than the two before were; nay, there are a good many Reasons to fear the contrary. For the chief Cause why the Power of the Kings of *Spain* was not proportionable to their Dominions, being the Remoteness of these from the Sovereign, which oblig'd him to govern them by Viceroys that Inconvenience will be doubled by the Person of a single Monarch.

The present Emperor indeed might, after the Example of *Charles V*, divide his Residence between *Spain* and *Germany*, according as Occasion might require, yet will not his Dominions be ever the more join'd, his People more rich, or his Commerce more flourishing, his Fleets stronger, his Revenues larger, or the Exchequer less incumber'd :

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How then will he be more powerful? What is alledg'd as to the Imperial Dignity, concludes nothing; for it is notorious, it brings no Revenue to the Possessor, nor does he agitate and determine the Estates of the Empire, without consulting them, as has been urg'd. The History of the two last Electors of *Cologne*, and of the Elector of *Bavaria*, Son-in-Law to the Emperor *Leopold*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor *Joseph*, clearly demonstrates the contrary.

It is a Jest to call that the lesser Power, which oppresses the other, takes Towns and Provinces, actually maintains them, and has carry'd on a War for ten Years together, not only against that other Power, but against that of *Europe*, united for the common Defence of their Liberty.

As to the Consequences that are drawn from the Childhood of the *Dauphin*, in my Opinion, my L——, that we ought rather to apprehend the uniting of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in one and the same Interest, than on the contrary, to see *France* become unconcern'd for the present King of *Spain*, and the latter heartily Zealous for the Maritime Powers. All Things are indeed subject to change, and more surprizing Turns have happen'd: But there is no depending on any such Change; nay, we ought rather to judge of Things to come by the present, than of the present by the Appearances. There are three Reasons which ought to engage *France* to endeavour to preserve an Authority in *Spain*: The first is, the Riches of the *Indies*, which thereby circulate through their Kingdom, and exclude all other Nations. The second is the Disposal of all the Ports in *Spain* at Pleasure; and the third is the Dominion of the *Mediterranean*; and thereby the Advantage it gives all her Designs alike on *Italy*, *Afrie*, or the *Levant* Trade, and her private Cabals at the Court of

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Rome.

Rome. And there are three other Reasons no less powerful, which ought to hinder the present King of *Spain* and his Successors, from separating their Interest from those of *France*. First, that the Crown finding it self oblig'd to maintain War, he will be always sure of its Assistance. Secondly, by this Assistance, he can easily establish such an arbitrary Power in *Spain*, as is now in *France*. Thirdly, that there is no Power in *Europe* that lies so contiguous to do him either much Good or Hurt, as *France*.

We may indeed, with some Shew of Reason believe, that during a *Minority*, the Monarchy of *France* will be less active; the good Will and Pleasure of the Regents, less forcible than those of *Lewis the Great*, to open the Purses of his Subjects; and a *Minority* may procure us a Peace for nine or ten Years, or twelve at most; but after this, a new King will appear upon the Throne, equally ambitious and undertaking with his Predecessors: A long Peace will have fill'd his Exchequer; Trade will have brought Plenty into his Dominions, and his People will have forgotten their past Miseries; old Maxims will be reviv'd, the Seas will be cover'd with Fleets, and the Fields with Armies, and then they will crush all together, or one after another.

This therefore being thus fairly laid before you, you may make the fairer Judgment of the Question, and see whether an *Impeachment* is not absolutely necessary to secure these Nations and all *Europe*, from those Evils which are so visibly coming upon us, by the Means of the Male-Administration of our late Managers.



